

Congress. Delegates from the large States believed that because their States contributed more to the Nation's financial and defensive resources, they should have greater representation in the legislative bodies. Small State delegates demanded that all States be equally represented in both Houses.

Hours, even days, of heated, contentious debate followed. A number of proposals, including one by Benjamin Franklin, were considered and rejected. Stalemate was in the air. Failure threatened the Convention and the youthful Republic was stymied, stopped in its tracks. If the Constitutional Convention collapsed, it meant that the American Government would have to continue operating under the flawed and failing Articles of Confederation.

So maybe it was a miracle in Philadelphia. It may have been divine intervention. Who knows. Perhaps it was because there were great political leaders and they acted as mature political statesmen. Politics, it is said, is the art of compromise. And this is exactly what our Founding Fathers did; they compromised. They worked out a compromise, the Great Compromise, also known as the Connecticut Compromise because it was designed by the Connecticut delegates Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth. It provided a dual system of congressional representation. In the House of Representatives, every State would be assigned a number of seats in proportion to its population. In the Senate, all States would have the same number of seats.

Just 8 days after the Great Compromise was adopted, the Convention was able to elect a committee to draft a detailed Constitution embodying the fundamental principles of the proceedings.

Today, representation of the two Houses of Congress seems so logical and so accepted that we take it for granted. Perhaps it is for that reason that we pass this anniversary with very little notice, too little notice—that is a shame—and no fanfare. It was a crucial moment in history. An American moment. It should be recognized and honored and remembered.

Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!  
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!  
Humanity with all its fears,  
With all the hopes of future years,  
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!  
We know what Master laid thy keel,  
What Workmen wrought thy ribs of steel,  
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope,  
What anvils rang, what hammers beat,  
In what a forge and what a heat  
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!  
Fear not each sudden and sound and shock,  
'Tis of the wave and not the rock;  
'Tis but the flapping of the sail,  
And not a rent made by the gale!  
In spite of rock and tempest's roar,  
In spite of false lights on the shore,  
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!  
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,  
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,  
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,  
Are all with thee—are all with thee!

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, let me thank the Senator from West Virginia for reminding us, once again, of an important part of this country's great history. He educates all of us on the floor of the Senate, and I appreciate his comments.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Senator. Were it not for that compromise, we would not be here today. There would be no Senate. There would be no Republic as we know it.

I thank the Senator.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

#### THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I thank the distinguished Presiding Officer.

During the course of the day, there was brought to the attention of the Members of the Senate a resolution regarding the situation in the Middle East. It was my understanding this resolution would be brought to the Senate tonight and that presumably it would be agreed to by the Senate.

My concern is that there are certain additional matters which should be included. If the Senate is going to exercise the important act of bringing this up, seeking unanimous consent, and the message goes out all over the world that the Senate has spoken, I would support what is in this resolution. I believe now that is not going to take place tonight for various reasons.

It is imperative that I address what was to have taken place, what I was told was to have taken place, assuming the unanimous consent could be achieved on both sides.

No. 1, this matter is so important, it deserves an opportunity for a number of Senators to speak on a resolution of this import. I am now advised by our cloakroom that it will not be taken up tonight, but I will take this opportunity to address parts of it or at least one part that I think should bear further careful drafting and possibly be changed. Otherwise, it is only one section, on page 3, item 3, which says:

(3) urges the President to continue fully supporting Israel as Israel exercises its right of self-defense in Lebanon and Gaza;

There is no question about their right of self-defense against Hezbollah and Hamas, but I wondered whether we should draft it in this way.

I urge those, since we are not going to take it up tonight, to make sure there is not an ambiguity there because the people of Lebanon are suffering enormously at this time, as are the people in Gaza. Many of those people are not aligned with either Hezbollah or Hamas.

I am also concerned about the Government in Lebanon and the actions which are taking place now, what do we do if that Government were to fall.

I would vote for this resolution if it were brought up tonight. I would have addressed the Senate and brought up other matters which I will now discuss.

I turn now again to the fact that this is so important, it deserves the consideration of every Senator and a debate of some length. I don't know about the schedule of the Senate, but if we are going to go forward and send a message to the world about our position in the Senate with respect to the conflicts in Palestine, Lebanon, and Israel, and the suffering that is taking place on all borders, each side of the various borders, then it deserves very careful consideration.

The purpose of me taking the floor is to point out some areas which deserve full consideration in that debate which are not included. I don't criticize the drafter of this resolution, but it requires the consideration of the whole Senate rather than a unanimous consent with a number of Senators who may not be here tonight.

In the course of that debate, I urge a larger focus. For example, there is no mention in the resolution of some perhaps 25,000 Americans who are trapped or engulfed in one way in this conflict. How best do we address this conflict to help protect those 25,000 persons? That is an essential part of this debate.

Second, I said the following on Friday night in response to a press inquiry when I first learned of this conflict:

While I fully recognize that Israel was a victim of provocative attacks on her people and sovereignty, I urge the Administration to think through very carefully how Israel's extraordinary reaction could affect our operations in Iraq and our joint diplomatic efforts to resolve the Iranian nuclear issue.

This is a very critical time for the United States in the Middle East, and the Israeli actions will certainly have an impact beyond just Lebanon and Gaza.

I stand by that statement. That is why I urge, and I am pleased to say this resolution, at such time as it would be brought up, will be broadened to cover the other points.

First, are the 25,000 Americans trapped? Second, this Nation has made a very great sacrifice to achieve goals established by our President and a coalition of forces associated with our country in both Iraq and Afghanistan. Over 2,500 have lost their lives in Iraq; over 300 have lost their lives in Afghanistan. That is U.S. forces. Our coalition partners have lost. We have 20,000-plus wounded, many severely wounded in Iraq and Afghanistan. And \$436 billion is a rough calculation of just a part, not all, but a significant part of the investment of our country in achieving our goals in those nations, of stabilizing their governments now with free elections in both countries and hopefully enabling those governments to gain the strength to provide for the peoples of Iraq and Afghanistan, a measure of liberty and freedom and possibly democracy which we enjoy here and in other nations.

What is the effect of any statement made by the Senate? What is the effect on that very fragile situation in both countries? There is a resurgence in Afghanistan. I was just there a short time ago—and each of us have followed the

news to date—a resurgence in the fighting. NATO has come in.

We cannot just address one portion of the Middle East conflict without seeing how the manner in which we address that could affect the other areas, notably Afghanistan and Iraq.

So I say to my colleagues, as I said Friday night, we urge our President, our administration, as they take such, hopefully, bold and firm and convincing initiatives in regard to the conflicts in Israel and Gaza and Lebanon, to be mindful of how it could impact on our conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq and our negotiations thus far with Iran in participating with other nations—not unilaterally—to try to bring about some resolution of what many of us considered up until this conflict—and I am not sure how we are going to eventually characterize the magnitude and the future potential spreading of this conflict—but certainly up until this conflict, in my judgment, the potential of Iran gaining nuclear weapons was absolutely—there was nothing more serious, in my judgment, than to try to resolve that.

There is no reference in here to the other Arab nations. It is quite interesting; some of those nations have come forward in strong condemnation, joined our country, joined other nations, in condemning Hamas and Hezbollah. That is of importance.

Now we see today that so many nations say the United States must take a stronger role in trying to work our way through this conflict, yes, supporting Israel but at the same time trying to bring about some resolution to spare the life and limb and suffering in Palestine, Lebanon, and Israel, to see that it not spread to other areas.

Now, our President has indicated that the Secretary of State will soon embark on a mission. What we say in the Senate must be carefully drafted so it does not remove the flexibility that our Secretary of State—a very able person—will need in helping to resolve this problem.

So I say that historically this Nation has stood steadfast, and I am proud that I have been among those in this Chamber in my 28 years here, to strongly support Israel. Our Nation is viewed upon as an honest broker—recognizing our support of Israel but as an honest broker. If the world is going to look to us as to how we can provide that leadership, I do not want any loss of flexibility on the part of the President and the Secretary of State and such others who may be tasked to try to work out this situation.

Yes, I conclude our support for Israel is very strong, Mr. President, but it cannot be unconditional.

I yield the floor.

#### CONDEMNING HEZBOLLAH

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I rise to speak in support of a resolution the Senate is expected to soon consider, and which I have cosponsored,

along with Senator FRIST, who is the lead sponsor, and Senators REID, BIDEN, SANTORUM, NELSON of Florida, KYL, BOND, and LEVIN. It is a resolution that condemns Hezbollah and expresses support for Israel's right to self defense.

All of us are watching in horror what is happening there, and I think it is important that the United States Senate speak forcefully in support of our President. The G-8 leaders have spoken this week to condemn Hezbollah and terrorist activities and to ask the Government of Lebanon to help find the Israeli soldiers who are being held hostage and free them and to disarm Hezbollah.

Mr. President, there should be no misunderstanding. Israel has fully complied with the United Nations mandate. They have no forces in Lebanon and yet they have continued to withstand attack after attack from Hezbollah.

We watched with sadness last year when Lebanon's former Prime Minister was assassinated by terrorists.

I think we have to put the blame where we believe it lies. We know Iran and Syria are infiltrating Lebanon with support for Hezbollah and Hamas.

We know Hezbollah and Hamas are committed to the destruction of Israel. Since 1948 it has been forced to continually fight for its very existence, and yet in the middle of this it has stood as a democratic form of government, with a free economy. Israel has never backed away from its fundamental commitment to freedom and human liberty.

So, Mr. President, I think this is something the United States Senate should stand firm with this bipartisan resolution that says we do support our President and the G-8 leaders and condemn Hezbollah. We encourage the Government of Lebanon, to stop these attacks on Israel, and locate and return the soldiers who have been taken hostage. Let's add our voice to that of the unified leaders of the world who are saying this should not be allowed to happen.

We must speak together, we must stay together, we must support Israel's right to self-defense and understand that they should have the support of a unified world community, saying to the terrorists and the governments that are supporting the terrorists—Hamas, Hezbollah, Iran, Syria supporting them—that the world is not going to sit by and let people be terrorized. This is a global war on terror, and we must speak.

I thank the distinguished Senator from Kansas for allowing me to speak. I know I am speaking during the stem cell debate. The resolution will be considered soon, and I wanted to speak on the floor because I think it is so important what is happening in the world today, and we must speak as a unified voice in the Senate.

#### VISIT TO NEW ORLEANS

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I recently made a brief visit to New Orleans to see for myself where things stand now, not quite 11 months after Hurricane Katrina hit the gulf coast. Katrina, of course, was the first of two major hurricanes to ravage that area last year. I only had the chance to see a small part of the area hit by that first storm, but what I did see was striking.

The news reports cannot fully convey the devastation or the enormity of the problems the region faces in trying to put things back in working order. One problem feeds into another. Businesses can't get back up and running without employees. Workers don't want to return without a safe place to live, without a school for their children, and without health care and other essential services upon which we all rely. Hospitals and other health providers face the same staffing shortages that businesses face. The neighborhood schools face challenges both in the physical infrastructure—providing a safe place in which kids can learn—and staffing shortages. All of these issues must be addressed.

Housing is an overarching challenge. I saw neighborhood after neighborhood still empty and unlivable. The outside shell of some homes was still standing, but the inside was uninhabitable because of the flood of toxic liquid filth that soaked into those houses.

I also saw lots where homes had stood but where now there was nothing but a slab of concrete. While many are living in the notorious FEMA trailers, many others, I understand, are having a hard time getting approval for a trailer. I was pleased to learn a little bit more about the so-called Katrina cottages that might be an alternative to the trailers, and I look forward to learning still more about them.

So much still needs to be done that one can be overwhelmed by the size of the task that remains. I have a great deal of respect for those who have made the commitment to remain in or move back to the city, for those who are working to make the neighborhoods habitable again, for the State and local law enforcement, the National Guard, and all the other dedicated individuals who are working so hard to bring the region back.

I still have a lot to learn about the particulars of what is needed in New Orleans and the other areas ravaged by Hurricanes Katrina and Rita—what is working, what has not worked, what Congress can still do to help. My central message today is that people from other parts of the country should not think that the gulf coast has recovered from those two hurricanes. That simply isn't the case. People are making progress, but there is still a very long way to go.

To put it in perspective, I will compare it to another place I visited earlier this year: Banda Aceh, Indonesia. I was there in February, a little more